

NND 969041
By ST/JM Date 98/98

Pol Libya-US

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FORM DS 322 (OCR)

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xr Def 12-5 Liby

xr Pol 27 Arab-Isr

USUN:POL:MR. CONNOR
10/17/72

S/S - MR. HABIB

AF - MR. NEWSOM
S/S - MR. BARNER#S

S - MR. BREMER

189100

ROUTINE TRIPOLI

ROUTINE CAIRO, TEL AVIV, USUN NY

EXDIS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION: FM KIKHIA (LIBYA)
OCTOBER 12, 1972, 10:15 AM,
WALDORF 35A

1. PARTICIPANTS: LIBYA - FM KIKHIA; MR. KARNAL MAGHUR,
PERM. REP
US - THE SECRETARY, MR. NEWSOM,
MR. CONNORS (REPORTING OFFICER)

2. FM KIKHIA SAID MAJOR PROBLEM IN US-LIBYAN BILATERAL
RELATIONS IS FAILURE OF US TO DELIVER F-5 AIRCRAFT COVERED
BY ESTABLISHED CONTRACT. SECRETARY INDICATED CONDITIONS
HAVE CHANGED SINCE CONTRACT MADE AND THAT US IS FRANKLY
CONCERNED ABOUT APPARENT LIBYAN INVOLVEMENT IN AFFAIRS OF
OTHER STATES. HE PROMISED, HOWEVER, THAT USG WILL CONTINUE
TO STUDY QUESTION OF F-5'S. IN DISCUSSING MID-EAST,
SECRETARY EMPHASIZED THAT TERRORISM CAN ONLY HARM ARAB
CAUSE. SECRETARY ALSO NOTED THAT VITRIOLIC STATEMENTS
BY LIBYA ARE NOT HELPFUL TO ANYONE.

3. SECRETARY EXPRESSED CONGRATULATIONS TO KIKHIA ON HIS
RECENT APPOINTMENT AS FM. HE SAID HE WAS PLEASED TO HAVE
OPPORTUNITY TO TALK TO LIBYAN LEADERSHIP NOTING THAT HE
REGRETS THAT THERE ARE NOT MORE SUCH OPPORTUNITIES.

4. F-5 AIRCRAFT: FM SAID QADHAFI HAS ASKED HIM TO PURSUE
QUESTION OF F-5 CONTRACT. FM SAID GOL HAS SIGNED

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CONTRACT AND ALREADY PAID \$22 MILLION OF \$40 MILLION STIPULATED. NEVERTHELESS, US CONTINUES TO REFUSE TO DELIVER ALL F-5'S. HE STRESSED THAT GOL HAS TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY FOR THREE YEARS TO SETTLE THIS MATTER. GOL BELIEVES THAT F-5'S POSE MAJOR ISSUE BETWEEN US AND LIBYA ASIDE FROM PALESTINE PROBLEM. NOTING THAT US IS PROVIDING ISRAEL WITH PHANTOMS, KIKHIA ASKED WHY LIBYA CANNOT RECEIVE EIGHT OR NINE F-5'S.

5. SECRETARY POINTED OUT THAT CONDITIONS HAVE CHANGED SOMEWHAT SINCE CONTRACT SIGNED. HE ASKED HOW MANY MIRAGE AIRCRAFT LIBYA NOW HAS. FM SAID INVENTORY IS SUPPOSED TO REACH 100 BUT NOW STANDS AT ABOUT 30. SECRETARY EXPRESSED US CONCERN ABOUT WHAT LIBYA APPEARS TO BE DOING IN OTHER COUNTRIES. FM REPLIED THAT LIBYA IS FIGHTING AGAINST COLONIALISM. SECRETARY ASKED WHAT GOL WOULD DO WITH ADDITIONAL F-5'S. FM REPLIED THEY WOULD BE USED FOR DEFENSE. SECRETARY ASKED AGAINST WHOM. FM STRESSED THAT LIBYA NEEDS AIR FORCE FOR ITS DEFENSE AND SEES US STANCE ON DELIVERIES OF F-5'S AS PRESSURE AGAINST IT. SECRETARY SAID THAT THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT LIBYA SHOULD HAVE ARMED FORCES TO ENSURE ITS DEFENSES. HOWEVER, US IS CONCERNED ABOUT SIZE OF LIBYAN MILITARY FORCE. KIKHIA POINTED OUT THAT IT WILL BE MANY YEARS BEFORE LIBYA HAS ENOUGH PILOTS TO FLY ITS AIRCRAFT. MOREOVER, THERE IS NO QUESTION OF LIBYAN AIR FORCE PLAYING OFFENSIVE ROLE. LIBYA NEEDS GOOD AIR FORCE BECAUSE IT IS VERY LARGE COUNTRY, WITH VERY LONG BORDERS. NEWSOM SAID THAT US IS CONTINUALLY CONSIDERING QUESTION OF F-5'S BUT GOL SHOULD KNOW THAT ISSUE INVOLVES PHRASE IN CONTRACT LIMITING AIRCRAFT TO DEFENSIVE PURPOSES AND PROHIBITING THEIR TRANSFER TO OR USE BY COUNTRIES OTHER THAN LIBYA. FOR EXAMPLE, SOMETIME AGO LIBYAN F-5'S WERE SENT TO PAKISTAN. THIS POSED DIFFICULT LEGAL PROBLEMS FOR US. NEWSOM STRESSED THAT US MUST BE SURE THAT F-5'S WILL BE USED FOR PURPOSES STIPULATED IN CONTRACT.

6. KIKHIA SAID THAT WHEN GOL WORKED OUT AGREEMENT ON WHEELUS, IT CONCLUDED THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO REMAINING COMPLICATIONS IN ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH US. ON PURELY BILATERAL SIDE, MORE THAN 80 PERCENT OF PETROLEUM ACTIVITY IN LIBYA IS BY US COMPANIES. US SHOULD NOTE THAT LIBYA IS ONLY COUNTRY IN AREA WHICH FIGHTS SO HARD AGAINST COMMUNISM. LIBYA MAY DISAGREE WITH US ON MID-EAST ISSUE, BUT THAT IS MID-EAST MATTER. SECRETARY SAID US DOES NOT MIND DISAGREEING WITH LIBYA ON MID-EAST; IT ALSO DISAGREES WITH SOME OTHER ARAB STATES. HOWEVER, WHAT DOES CONCERN US ARE VITRIOLIC ATTACKS WHICH COME FROM LIBYA. CERTAIN

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LIBYAN STATEMENTS HAVE SUGGESTED GOL INTERFERENCE IN AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES. KIKHIA ASKED WHETHER SECRETARY WAS REFERRING TO IRELAND. SECRETARY SAID HE WAS REFERRING TO LIBYA'S NEIGHBORS, WHICH HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT LIBYA'S ATTITUDES. SECRETARY SAID US WANTS GOOD RELATIONS WITH LIBYA. THIS WAS PROVEN WHEN US VACATED WHEELUS WHEN GOL ASKED, EVEN THOUGH LEASE HAD NOT YET EXPIRED. KIKHIA SAID LIBYA HAS NO REAL QUARREL WITH US BUT IS DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT US CONTINUES TO SIDE WITH LIBYA'S ENEMY, ISRAEL.

7. NEWSOM REMARKED THAT US WONDERS WHY GOL ATTACHES SUCH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO F-5 CONTRACT. ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP SEEMS MUCH MORE IMPORTANT TO BOTH LIBYA AND US. MOREOVER, IT MAY BE IN BEST INTEREST OF US AND LIBYA TO END MILITARY RELATIONSHIP. LIBYA'S POSITION ON MID-EAST AND OTHER ISSUES FRANKLY MAKES IT VERY DIFFICULT FOR US TO CONTINUE THAT RELATIONSHIP. KIKHIA AGREED THAT LIBYA WISHES TO PRESERVE CULTURAL TIES WITH US, ESPECIALLY PROGRAMS TO SEND LIBYANS TO US UNIVERSITIES. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT F-5 PROBLEM LOOMS LARGE. SECRETARY TOLD FM THAT US WILL CONTINUE TO EXAMINE QUESTION. (IN A BRIEF MEETING FOLLOWING SESSION WITH SECRETARY, MAGHUR TOLD NEWSOM LIBYANS WOULD BE PREPARED RETURN ALL PRESENT F-5'S TO US AND WIPE OUT CONTRACT IF US SO WISHED. NEWSOM SAID HE WOULD SO INFORM SECRETARY BUT REPEATED THAT SECRETARY DESIRED TAKE FURTHER LOOK AT QUESTION OVER NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS.)

8. MID-EAST: SECRETARY SAID THAT US IS EAGER TO FIND SOLUTION TO MID-EAST PROBLEM. US HAS NO QUARREL WITH ARABS AND MOST OF THEM SEEM TO LIKE US BETTER THAN COMMUNISTS. THIS MAY BE BECAUSE ARABS KNOW THAT US IS NOT UP TO ANYTHING. GOL SHOULD KNOW THAT US RECOGNIZES JUSTICE OF PALESTINIAN CLAIM. PROBLEM IS HOW TO SETTLE IT FAIRLY. SECRETARY NOTED THAT ARABS DO NOT HELP PROBLEM BY SPEAKING WITH SO MANY VOICES. SECRETARY POINTED OUT THAT US HAS ALSO HAD ITS PROBLEM WITH ISRAEL WITH CERTAIN US PROPOSALS TAKING CRITICISM FROM BOTH SIDES. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT FINAL SETTLEMENT CANNOT MEET ALL DEMANDS OF BOTH SIDES. HOWEVER, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO MAKE FIRST STEP TOWARDS SETTLEMENT BY GETTING MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS UNDERWAY. SECRETARY EMPHASIZED THAT ACTS OF TERRORISM CAN ONLY HARM ARAB CAUSE. FM REPLIED THAT PALESTINIANS ARE FRUSTRATED, DISPERSED, AND DIFFICULT TO SPEAK WITH. LIBYANS KNOW HOW THEY FEEL. UNDER ITALY'S CONTROL 40 PERCENT OF ARAB POPULATION OF LIBYA WAS EXTERMINATED. LIBYANS UNDERSTAND WHY PALESTINIANS FIGHT WITH ALL MEANS THEY HAVE.

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SECRETARY ASKED WHETHER GOL BELIEVES THAT TERRORISM WILL ACHIEVE ARAB GOALS. KIKHIA REPLIED THAT TERRORISM COULD SERVE TO DRAW ATTENTION TO ARAB CAUSE. SECRETARY COUNTERED AGAIN THAT TERRORISM CAN ONLY HARM THEIR CAUSE.

9. FM SAID THAT US CAN PLAY USEFUL ROLE BY NOT CONTINUING ITS EXAGGERATED SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL. US PROVIDES ISRAEL WITH MAJOR MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE BUT REFUSES TO DELIVER SMALL NUMBER OF F-5'S TO LIBYA. ARAB WORLD HAS SEEN CLEARLY THAT US GIVES TOP PRIORITY TO ISRAEL. ONE NEED LOOK ONLY AT WHAT US HAS DONE IN LEBANON AND JORDAN TO PROVE THIS POINT. SECRETARY SAID FM IS ONLY ARAB THAT HAS EXPRESSED THOSE SENTIMENTS TO HIM. KIKHIA SUGGESTED THAT OTHERS ARE PERHAPS MORE DIPLOMATIC. NEWSOM REMARKED THAT LIBYA WAS ONE OF FEW ARAB COUNTRIES TO REJECT SC RES 242. SECRETARY SAID THAT IN HIS TRAVELS TO OTHER ARAB STATES, IN ALL HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH ARAB LEADERS AND COMMON PEOPLE, THESE SENTIMENTS HAVE NOT BEEN EXPRESSED. HE SAID THAT LIBYA DOES NOT SPEAK FOR ARAB WORLD. SECRETARY SUGGESTED LIBYA TAKE MORE PRAGMATIC APPROACH, CALM ITS HARSH STATEMENTS AND DROP ITS SUPPORT OF TERRORISM. SECRETARY SAID BEST HOPE FOR MID-EAST SETTLEMENT PROBABLY LIES IN INDIRECT DISCUSSIONS. KIKHIA ASKED WHAT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN DISCUSSIONS. SECRETARY SAID THAT RE-OPENING OF CANAL SHOULD BE FIRST PRIORITY, FOLLOWED BY MOVEMENT OF EGYPTIANS TO SOME POINT ACROSS CANAL. NEXT STEP COULD BE TO ADOPT SC RES 242 AND SEEK WORK OUT SOLUTION FOR PALESTINE PEOPLE. KIKHIA ASKED HOW PROBLEMS OF PALESTINIANS WOULD BE RESOLVED THROUGH SUCH A PROCEDURE. SECRETARY REPLIED THAT AMBASSADOR JARRING COULD PURSUE MATTER AFTER SC RES 242 WAS ADOPTED. SECRETARY CONCLUDED CONVERSATION BY ASKING THAT HS#IS BEST REGARDS BE CONVEYED TO PRESIDENT QADHAFI AND THAT FM TELL HIM THAT US WANTS TO SETTLE MID-EAST PROBLEM SO THAT COMMUNISTS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF TROUBLED ENVIRONMENT.

GDS YY

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